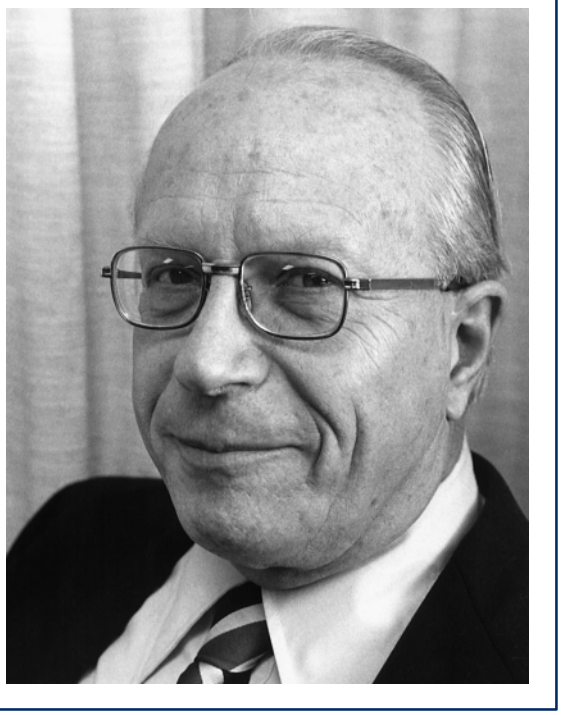

Oral History

Arthur F. Young

This is an interview conducted on June 14, 1983 and October 2, 1984, with Arthur F. Young, former Census Bureau Chief, Housing Division [July 1963-December 1987]; Acting Chief [September 1962-July 1963]. The June 14, 1983 interview was conducted by George Reiner; the October 2, 1984 interview was conducted by Lawrence Love.

Reiner: **I am interviewing Mr. Arthur Young, Chief, Housing Division. Mr. Young, as you are aware the interview will consist of two parts, one that will cover your background in Field Division and the other will be conducted by Mr. Lawrence Love who will cover the rest of your career with the Census Bureau. Before we get into your experiences with Field Division, let's cover some background information dealing with your education. What can you tell me about your background information educationally?**

Young: Well, probably the most influential thing in my education was my high school. I went to an experimental school connected with a teachers college at Columbia University which was probably 30 or 40 years ahead of its time. I was taught the "new" mathematics in 1939 and 1940, and we had core classes. Many of the things that surprised parents of this generation in high school were done in our Lincoln school first. After graduating from Lincoln high school, I spent my freshman year at Ohio State University in the College of Engineering preparing for work in architecture; however, the war was on and the College of Engineering had no sophomore program, so I returned home and entered Cornell in the College of Architecture and shortly thereafter I was drafted. After the war, I returned to Cornell and studied architecture for a few more years and then switched over to sociology, mainly on the basis that I never really wanted to be an architect. I

wanted to be a regional planner, and I had felt that architecture was the road to regional planning. I eventually realized that this was not the road I wanted to take. So, I studied sociology, economics, statistics, and so forth at Cornell, graduated in 1950 with an A.B., and then I went to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill to study regional planning. Unfortunately, I found that they really didn't have a course in regional planning as its catalogues intimated; it was a very parochial city planning course, so I shifted over into the Sociology Department and studied regionalism and regional sociology under Howard Odum, who was still living at the time. I left the Chapel Hill campus when I had run out of money and GI Bill funds. I had taken a Government examination—the junior management assistant test—and was notified in early 1952 that I had been accepted. I was told to report to the Bureau of Navy Personnel in Washington, DC, as I had not too long ago been discharged from the Air Force. I was not really interested in continuing my civilian employment with the military, and I started making trips up from Chapel Hill to visit various Federal agencies in Washington to see if I could get employment in a civilian Federal agency. I visited the Department of State and Interior, and I then got a call to go over and talk to Thomas McWhirter at the Raleigh-Durham Airport; I guess Tom gave me a clean bill of health and suggested that I "check out" the Census Bureau's Field Division staff in Suitland, Maryland. I did, and I met with such people as Jack Robertson [Jack B. Robertson, Chief, Field Division in the 1950s and Assistant Chief, Field Division, during the 1950 Census of Population and Housing], Ivan Monroe [Ivan G. Monroe, Assistant Chief, Field Division, to 1966], Jeff McPike [Jefferson D. McPike, Chief, Field Division, from July 1960 to July 1970], and Al Craig [Albert A. Craig, Jr., Supervisor of the Washington, DC area, Field Division during the 1950 Census of Population and Housing]. Al Craig was the Regional Director of one of the Census Bureau's regional offices at the time; Jeff McPike was the administrative officer; Ivan Monroe was the Field Division's Assistant Division Chief of Programs; Jim Bell was the Assistant Chief of Field Inspection, and Jack Robertson was the Division Chief. They were really the first group of Washington bureaucrats that I had met that I think had a positive attitude about their work and a friendly attitude toward a college graduate. The Department of State said that it was very interested in me, but told me it would take me 6 to 8 months to get a complete clearance before I could go to work there. When you have a wife and child and no money, you do not relish that kind of invitation. The Interior Department was interesting. A young fellow took me aside and told me, "for God

sakes you don't want to work here, these people haven't changed in 50 years and they're not about to." Anyway, the gentlemen that I met with at this meeting at the Census Bureau were very impressive and very helpful. It was an impressive meeting and the Census Bureau had assembled so many people to talk to a recruit. Many of them shuffled me around the Personnel Division. When I was offered a job, I was told that I could start any time I wanted. I remember I picked Monday, July 7, because I was afraid that if I started a week earlier, which I really wanted to do, they would think I was greedy and trying to get the July 4 holiday in the first week I worked. But, anyway, I started work on July 7, 1952, in the Field Division.

Reiner: **Was that here at Bureau headquarters?**

Young: Yes, but I was almost immediately assigned to Al Craig in the regional office which was on H Street in Washington, DC, in a little building not too far from 17th Street. I think the building has been torn down now.

Reiner: **Was it called a regional office—not a district office?**

Young: It was called a regional office, not a district office. Soon after that, that regional office was dissolved and Al Craig took another position at Bureau headquarters in Suitland, MD. The Washington regional office was a field office. Shortly after that, they assigned me to a position called Chief Interviewer in the Baltimore District Office. The district supervisor of that office was a man by the name of George Winski. It was really a very small office. It consisted of Winski, a couple of full-time clerks and a few WAE (while actually employed) clerks, and enumerators. I remember one of them was the mother of Jack Starbath, who at that time was a football hero at the University of Maryland. But anyway, I spent most of the summer and early fall of 1952 commuting between Suitland and the Baltimore office. I remember I took the train every morning. The train left at 7:00 from Union Station to Baltimore; you had to take buses or cabs or something to get over to the office on 103 South Bay Street. I hadn't been there I guess but 2 weeks when Mr. Winski informed me that he thought it would be a good thing for me to conduct the current population survey (CPS) training. So, I don't think I'd been with the Bureau 6 weeks when I was in front of a training class of probably a dozen CPS enumerators. It was a very good way to learn something about training. After the summer in Baltimore, I returned to Washington and was detailed to the Business Division. Harry Wallace also was in the Field Division at that time; he left the Bureau many years ago. Harry and I

went to the Business Division to work with Paul Shapiro [Assistant Division Chief for Program Implementation during the 1963 Economic Census], and he was in the Current Retail Trade Section at the time. Harry and I developed the first questionnaire and the first manual that was used in the field for the Current Retail Trade Survey.

Reiner: **This was an interviewer's manual?**

Young: Yes, and the questionnaire.

Reiner: **They called that survey an area sample.**

Young: Yes, but there were a few instances when a service industry was included in the survey. We were working in the Business Division when the 1953 reduction in force (RIF) took place. The real problem there was, if I remember correctly, that the effective date of the RIF was July 10. I had started work a year ago July 7 and an employee got his or her permanent status in 12 months at that time. I had cleared it by 3 days. So, here I was with a bare 52 weeks of service and permanent status and in the Business Division. My supervisor and many of the other people had jobs classified as wartime temporaries and were taking severe cuts in grade and changes of duty. Other people were being let go, and I sort of stood there in my bursting glory untouched. It was a sort of unfortunate unpopular situation to be in and the Field Division was really very uncomfortable about it. Therefore, Field Division felt that maybe out of sight, out of mind would be a better solution, and they were trying to figure which district office to send me to.

Reiner: **What grade were you at that time?**

Young: I was a GS-7.

Reiner: **Were you also a grade GS-7 when you were the chief interviewer in Baltimore?**

Young: Yes. They couldn't decide where to send me and finally Ivan Monroe told me to report for work Monday with my suitcase packed and my car ready to go. They would tell me then whether I was to go to Hartford or to go to Rochester, New York. Rochester was the final destination. I think I had the Chief Interviewer's job but this was a GS-8. I think I got my GS-8 in Rochester. That office had a chief clerk. Howard Duffy, I think, was a GS-9, a chief clerk was a GS-5, another clerk as a GS-3. We covered New York State about as far as Syracuse and to Buffalo. I think we were doing the CPS in Rochester and Buffalo and later it expanded.

Reiner: **How many area offices and regional offices were in existence at that time? Do you recall?**

Young: This is one of the sad things in the history of the Bureau. If anyone can ever get a map or a description of that "old 68 area design" I think it would be interesting. Each office really was a primary statistical unit (PSU). I think we branched out and did some work in Buffalo. Originally there had been a little office in each sample area—a hundred or something—and then the number was reduced to 68. Some offices were combined. Obviously there were offices in the big cities, like New York, Chicago, and Boston. But we also had offices in places like Middletown, New York; Welch, West Virginia; Fond du Lac, Wisconsin; Barre, Vermont; and Chouteau, Montana. These were 3-or 4-person offices that conducted the CPS. I think the changeover came in 1954 to the first modern CPS design that I think at that time contained about 238 PSU, where a district office branched out and was in charge of a number of primary sampling units. In the past, each office conducted only its own sampling area. The staffing was different. We had a few interviewers that worked in Rochester. The office staff itself did a good bit of the interviewing at that time. The chief clerk and even the regular clerk did some interviewing. Howard Duffy came to the Census Bureau from the Veterans Administration, and he had spent all his life in Rochester. When we finally closed the Rochester office, he went to another Federal agency. I don't think he's alive now but he spent his life in Rochester. He was a very interesting stereotypical bureaucrat. Howard Duffy was the one who trained me. He said never be too good, Art, and never be too bad. He said be right in the middle; they won't pay any attention to you; they will leave you alone. I remember an embarrassing thing. The first field assignment he gave me my car broke down and I got stuck out in the middle of nowhere in Steuben County. I think the car generator had gone bad, and I had an awful time getting back. I hadn't completed the assignment, but he took it very calmly. It was an interesting stretch in Rochester. The regional supervisor at that time was a man in New York City called Edward Slavo. After a while in Rochester, he suggested that I transfer from Rochester and work in New York City as a regional field assistant. I was really sort of his eyes, ears, and legs. Basically my job at that time was to inspect all the district offices that he had under his domain, which included Boston, the New York District Office, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Rochester, and Hartford. I use to make a great many trips. One of the standard trips was to take the night train to Hartford, inspect the Hartford office, and then take the train that evening back to New

York. But Ed Slavo would call you at a district office at 8:30. He wanted a report on which staff members were late to work. He would call you at 4:55 to find out what you had found out. At that time, when you traveled, you were allowed to travel first class if the trip was over 2 hours, and Mr. Slavo felt that we were being paid to work 8 hours a day; you spent 8 hours in the office. When you got to travel first class that was compensation enough, and you travel on your own time in the evening. That was one of the reasons we used trains. Per diem, at that time was $9 a day; later it was increased to $12. You got your $12 a day no matter where you stayed, so that if you were in a pullman at night you had no hotel bill and you got to keep all of the $12 a day which could be spent on food and so forth. I took some trips. I can remember when I would take a train to Baltimore, a train from Baltimore to Pittsburgh, a train from Pittsburgh to Rochester, a train back from Rochester to New York. By the end of one of those weeks, you could sleep in anything.

Reiner: **Were you still a grade GS- 8 in this capacity?**

Young: I think I got a grade GS-9 to become his regional field assistant. I wrote up reports. I think I still have some of those reports that I wrote on the various offices, the problems. We had measures of production—how many CPS cases had been prepared in the office, and on the many charged office clerical hours to that project, and the hours the enumerators spent to complete their respective cases in the field and the miles they used. They had, therefore, comparative standards between offices, and we would go into an office and tell them they were using too much time on CPS preparation; the net results were that next month less time was spent on CPS preparation but more time on business preparation. The simple problem was that sometimes a few of the offices just had a little bit too much staff, like half a person too much. What are you going to do with the hours of a half a person? Such persons always would create a little bulge or an overage. These people were shifted around. I remember talking with the supervisors, and we figured it out that this was a problem. Ed Slavo always wanted these people to cut their time down. So, it was like squeezing a balloon—make it smaller in one place and it would pop out in another.

Reiner: **I think we still have those problems today.**

Young: I think I had that job about 1 year and then I came back. It worked out pretty well. My father was a professor at Columbia, but took a sabbatical in Europe and we lived in his apartment here. Just about the time he was coming back (it

was going to become rather difficult to find a place to live) I came back to the Field Division at Bureau headquarters. I worked for George Klink [George Klink, Chief, Demographic Survey Coordination Branch during the 1963 Economic Census] as sort of his assistant and he was in charge of CPS. I can remember one of the jobs I worked on was the switch from the 68 to the 238 design and some of these things. We had some very intricate and complicated numerical control systems that I figured out so that we wouldn't have to begin to assign households two different control numbers as they went from one design to the other. It was sort of an intriguing puzzle to me to figure out how you could make it work; I got the whole thing worked out, and it did save us from a double numbering system.

Reiner: **What year was that?**

Young: Oh, that was about 1954. I think I spent about a year on Ed Slavo's staff. One of the things that was interesting was that Ed Slavo had a male secretary. I don't think that anybody would ever suggest that Ed Slavo was a strong Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) supporter. That secretary was Tony Lobritto who was going to night school and was getting his degree. As soon as Tony got his degree, he moved from being Mr. Slavo's regional secretary to a program supervisor in the New York District Office and he's still there. Tony was probably the best secretary I had ever worked with in my life. He was excellent. Somewhere along in there when I was moving my housing and after we resolved some of the CPS problems and transition, we started to work on the National Health Survey. Katherine Capt, who was the widow of J.C. Capt, one of the previous Census Bureau Directors, had been working very hard along with Hal Nisselson [Harold Nisselson, Associate Director for Statistical Standards and Methodology, from October 1977 to February 1979] on developing this plan toward a health survey. In 1958, we did a full-scale pretest of the National Health Survey and this was held in Charlotte, NC. I think I went down to Charlotte for 6 to 8 weeks to run the test. There were some interesting aspects of the test. First, there was a patronage aspect. I think the gentleman was Charles Jonas. He was the first Republican that had been elected in North Carolina to Congress in many years. This was in the Eisenhower administration, so Representative Jonas was instrumental in helping us recruit the approximate 30 interviewer positions we needed for the pretest. At that time, Charlotte was becoming a banking and insurance center. Instead of having a group of almost all local North Carolinians and southerners,

the Republican Party provided many recent immigrants to Charlotte from all over the Nation. And I had a predominantly Yankee group in Charlotte, NC. A very capable group of people, but they were not really natives.

Reiner: **Did that make it difficult to get interviews?**

Young: No, I don't think so. I can remember I had to explain to a couple of them that it really was not a good thing to do Governmental interviewing in mink jackets. A couple of them were really overdressed for the job. But some of them were the most tenacious people I have ever come across in my Census Bureau experience. I can remember one woman who was having trouble getting an interview, and she took her car and drove it cross ways across this respondent's driveway. She knocked on the doorway and said "you can't get your car out, and I'm not going to move until you give me the interview." But anyway there was another interesting thing that I think you get into. There were some conflicts. Before 1960, the Field Division's program supervisors in almost every program were males. We had very few female supervisors. Marion Rosenthal of New York, and another in Hartford were two that I know of but most of the program supervisors were men. I think the feeling was that a field supervisor had to (1) do the tough interviews, (2) do the tough follow up, (3) handle the refusals, and (4) go into those buildings or neighborhoods where maybe our female interviewers could not go. There was some reluctance to put women into these jobs. Katherine Capt felt very strongly that to get proper interviews in the National Health Survey you had to use female interviewers, and that you should have female supervisors for these interviewers to do the proper rechecks and hard cases. She was really trying to convince the Field Division that it should have a female National Health Survey supervisor in every local office when there just weren't enough females to go around; the Field Division was reluctant to do this. In the Charlotte test we first trained the potential regional program supervisors to see how the training worked; then, we were going to get into the actual interviewing, using the 30 interviewers. I am not sure but I believe there were only a couple of female supervisors in the regional offices. I think Marion Rosenthal was a supervisor in Detroit. During the training, Katherine Capt asked the younger male supervisors health questions that pertained to female health problems in an attempt to embarrass them. She wanted to demonstrate that you really can't use male supervisors in the National Health Survey. I was in my thirties, but I was an old married man compared to some of these people. I can remember seeing what was going on at this training session

and taking these young fellows one night into the motel. I gave them, I guess, a short course in sex education and what these various health problems were and how to handle them. From then on, the training of the male supervisors went very smoothly, and Mrs. Capt had no further objections to using men in that survey. It was one of those things I don't think ever got into the history of the surveys. It was the little extra training that we had to give some of those young bachelors about female problems, but it was interesting. The test was a success and, of course, the National Health Survey went on from there. I can remember it was one of the few times in my life that someone in the Field Division instructed me to carefully keep track of all my overtime. Basically, the Field Division has always felt you have a job to do, you do it and that's it. Jeff McPike told me to keep track of every hour I worked, which I did. We worked Saturdays, Sundays, and evenings. I remember I had one awful pile of compensatory time.

Reiner: **Did they allow you to take it off?**

Young: I don't know whether I got to take all of it. It was really kind of gross; it was too much, I think I got some of it but maybe not all because it was not too soon after that experience in Charlotte that Wayne Dougherty [Wayne F. Dougherty, Chief, Field Division to October 1961; no beginning date available] asked me to come to the Housing Division. Wayne had visited the Rochester Office, and he was surprised to find that there was someone in the Bureau who had studied zoning, who had studied building construction, who knew building materials, who knew city planning, and in other words who knew something about housing subject matter; I guess he sort of remembered me. So a couple of years later when he had a Research and Coordination Branch in the Housing Division he asked me to take that job. It's one of these strange things. He had the belief that if you'd been in the Field Division you knew how to process documents. I had never done any data processing/card punching in my life. But part of the coordination job in the Housing Division was sort of an operations job of data processing. I'm very lucky that I had an assistant who knew data processing, and we managed to survive in the Housing Division. I was there a couple of years or a year and a half and Ed Slavo decided to retire before the 1960 census. At that time I was asked to return to New York City to be the regional supervisor of the New York office for the 1960 census. Again, it was a promotion.

Reiner: **What grade were you?**

Young: I think I was a GS-13 and this was a chance to get a GS-14.

Reiner: **So you progressed up through Housing Division in that era.**

Young: Well I had gotten the GS-12 in the Field Division. I think when I returned to work for George [George A. O'Connell, Jr., Chief, Technical Training, Field Division] I left New York as a GS-9 and got a GS-11 and then got the GS-12 from George. I think I got a GS-13 to go to the Housing Division and probably a GS-14 job to take Ed Slavo's job in New York; I think the regional supervisors at that time were GS-14s. When I first arrived in New York, the first thing we had was to take the Census of Agriculture, which was undertaken in the fall of 1959. I had some wonderful problems. I had one of the supervisors who was observing crew leader training, and a crew leader came up to him and said you know that man over there and pointed to one of the trainees saying that he worked on the last agriculture census in 1953 or 1954. He says "you don't have to do half this work just as long as you turn in your mileage, make some telephone calls to these people, but you don't have to do any of this driving. You can do the whole thing out of your home without ever moving." Well this supervisor was a little taken aback but really didn't do anything. He just heard it and there was no confrontation, no discussion or anything. But he came back and he told me about it, and I remember John Cullinane was pretty upset because this could create a great deal of trouble.

Reiner: **What position was Cullinane?**

Young: Cullinane was a program supervisor. What we decided was that we would observe the particular crew leader's training of enumerators and observe him in the field, and this sort of thing. Cullinane observed his training, and I guess that crew leader felt he was being watched and then lo and behold he was practically finished training and who appears but the regional supervisor to observe him in the field. The crew leader began to get very indignant at this business and decided that he was going to quit, and he did. A lot of the enumerators he had hired were his friends and he really admitted to me in the heat of anger that the whole job was a lot of foolishness and he didn't have to do the job as prescribed. You could curbstone the crew leader's job.

Reiner: **Were there a lot of problems with curb stoning in those years? You mentioned the high morale and so forth that you found when you first came.**

Young: That's why I think we were so concerned. We didn't want to allow this, and this guy seemed to be an awfully slimy character. I immediately started out to recruit

a whole new crew, but you're in a small upstate county and it gets a little difficult because some of the people have gotten the word that something is wrong. But I think peace was finally made at high levels. If I remember correctly, this fellow quit and we really didn't hire him back. However, we kept one of his buddies on as the agricultural crew leader and it worked out. It's kind of "supervisory panic" to realize that you've got a census to take and that you have a crew leader who is really dishonest and is taking his whole crew out with him which leaves a whole county in the state that is not going to be counted.

Reiner: **Was recruiting in general difficult? Were people anxious to work as field enumerators in those days? Was the salary a reasonable structure?**

Young: The biggest problem we had, at least in New York State, was getting a clear line of communication as to what the job involved. I can remember I worked as a technical trainer on the 1954 Census of Agriculture training crew leaders. I would have maybe 20 crew leaders to train, and I would start off telling them the duties and 30 percent to 50 percent would get up and walk out. You'd stop and ask them what was wrong, and they'd say "I was never told I was supposed to do any work." I can remember the one that pointed to a Buick roadster. It had four holes in the fender and at that time we called them four holers. He had this four holer Buick; brand new and it was shiny. He says "do you think I'm going to take that thing over all the back county roads?" He said, "not on your life; they told me I needed a car; I thought it was like limousine service." I can remember one man that came up to me and said, "I can't do this job; I've got two sons and we're milking 76 cows. How can I do this crew leader's job and take care of my farm?" It was things like that. I can remember another poor fellow who had just had an operation for hemorrhoids, and he was in training sitting on a rubber cushion and kind of waved the rubber cushion. He said, "I can't do this kind of work, I can't get in the car and drive all over and hike up and down with enumerators, I can barely move." So the communication as to what was involved in the job was a problem. Once you got crew leaders who understood the job, it was not so bad because those crew leaders were responsible for recruiting their crew, and they generally could get people. The wages were not satisfactory. I mean they were low; they are low today but you have got to remember there was a smaller percentage of women in the labor force. There were a lot of really qualified women who were available for work, and it made recruiting a lot easier.

Reiner: **What were some of the other problems in Field Division? Was money a problem, budgets, whatever?**

Young: Well, we were not terribly aware of that at the division level. We had a budget; we had production standards to meet. When I was a regional supervisor, one of the rules of the game was that at least every other month the regional supervisor was to keep the boss in the office really technically aware of what the program was. I can remember when I was a regional supervisor in New York I think I did CPS recheck; I did health recheck; I did follow up on refusals in the Annual Business Survey.

Reiner: **This was at the grade GS-14 level?**

Young: Yes.

Reiner: **And how many people did you have working for you at that time?**

Young: Well, I would say about 35 at the New York Regional Office.

Reiner: **Including interviewers?**

Young: No. I'd say it would have to be a little bit less than that. It was probably about 25 in the office and then the interviewers in addition. Some of the problems in the census of agriculture while at the New York Regional Office were almost comical. I had one person recommended to me who was a nephew of a member of Congress from Ohio. He was a very personable fellow except that he had narcolepsy. He would fall asleep. When he fell asleep, I mean he really fell asleep and he would snore. So, he would go out to observe an enumerator in the agricultural census and all of a sudden the enumerator had a guy leaning up against the window dead to the world snoring and the enumerator couldn't wake him up. She wouldn't know what to do with him. So in a couple of cases these women just left him in the car snoring; eventually he went back to Ohio.

Reiner: **Were most of the interviewers of political patronage type?**

Young: Yes, most of them, particularly those who worked in the census of agriculture outside New York City. The Republican Party in many districts in New York City was practically nonexistent. So that if you looked to these people for any help in the census you didn't get it. By the time we got to the 1960 Census of Population and of Housing, I think, if I remember the numbers correctly, we tested just about 50,000 people in New York City for census work. But let me get back to just one thing, the finishing aspect of the census of agriculture. We had one crew leader who had sort of disappeared and with him had disappeared three portfolios with

completed questionnaires for three enumeration districts (EDs). We kept looking for this guy. We couldn't find him, and we were preparing to recruit, divide the three EDs up into smaller parts and do a blitz enumeration all over again. It was December, and the Bureau headquarters was very uncomfortable not having these three EDs. Somehow or another we got wind of this guy. He was promoting ice races. Automobile races on ice. He was sort of a hustler. He was located in a little town in upstate New York, in one of the local motels. The motel owner said, "I think he's having breakfast," and he pointed to a diner down the street. The guy was sitting in his bathrobe in this diner having breakfast. He was surprised to see us and very pleasant. He said he had those portfolios in the trunk. I really didn't think you wanted them. With respect to the 1960 census in New York State, a lot of people at Bureau headquarters kid me that that census was burned into my soul; if you take my shirt off, you can see the scars. There were a lot of tough problems in taking the 1960 census in New York State. I think a lot of the things that happened in 1960 in New York were precursors of some of the problems we've gotten into with later censuses; it's almost as if New York was 20 years down the road compared to some of the other states. We did have problems. We had, again, a misunderstanding as to the importance of the job.

Reiner: **Was there a lack of manual material or procedures or anything you attribute that to?**

Young: Well, no, this was the fact that the congressional representative and some other people who were recommending staff provided us with the first people that were recruited for local supervisors. I had 29 offices in New York State that I had to fill with people; all of them were political referrals. I can remember I had one woman who had a masters degree. You would think that a woman with a masters degree in education was a capable person. Something had gone wrong in her life. We had to have a Bureau employee in that office for the entire census. I guess we should have realized earlier that we had a problem; she couldn't fill her application form out. Anyway there were problems like that. I can remember there were two different state senatorial districts that were referring candidates for one office on Long Island. The first man came in and he gave me his name; he was very clear to explain to me that this was a German name and not a Jewish name. He said, "let me tell you, I can work with anybody but I don't like to work with women, Catholics, or Italians." The other senator who was referring the assistant supervisor sent an Italian woman. The trouble was that the man was really over

the hill, I guess he was up in his 70's. I ended up using him as a public relations liaison to all the local newspapers on Long Island and used the woman as the district supervisor. On the other hand, we got some people through the referral sources who were really far superior to what you could have gotten otherwise. In Queens, NY they were very much concerned about the quality of the census. In the Republican Party, the head man there was in a law firm. I guess he went to either his bar association or university club and talked to some of his people. Two of the district supervisors I had in Queens were young lawyers whom their law firm had just given a leave of absence for the period of the census and told them that this was their assignment to get the job done well in those offices. So you had two top notch young men who were on the job.

Reiner: **I think that's probably what we find even today. We get the best and the worst. How did the public receive what the Census Bureau was doing out in the field in those days? Was there a feeling of welcome? I'll give you all the information you need, flag waving, or what?**

Young: I did a lot of interviewing in upstate New York when I was in the Rochester office, but that was a few years before 1960. In fact, even when I returned to Washington in that period when I was in the Field Division working on the National Health Surveys before I went to the Housing Division, I was used a little bit like the Marines. Some office would call up and say that some enumerator had quit. I was sent sort of hither and yon to do interviewing. I conducted interviews near Richmond, and some in South Carolina. I didn't find too much resistence. I found disbelief; a certain degree of ignorance as to what the purpose of any of these programs were. At that time, it was interesting that some of the people didn't even know that there was a monthly measure of unemployment. They didn't understand how any of this sample interviewing at a few houses could work.

Reiner: **Were the nonresponse rates high at that time?**

Young: I don't think they were probably any higher than we have now; at least I didn't seem to feel it. You got a few refusals.

Reiner: **Did you compare them then in your performance against those of the other offices similar to what we do today, production?**

Young: Yes, as you might expect, the New York City area had a higher nonresponse rate than some of the other areas. When I was interviewing, I happened to do a great

deal of work in Stueben County; Corning, New York, is in one corner of it. There was a high level of unemployment in that county. There had been a railroad repair yard which had closed, and there was a big Westinghouse Airbrake factory that had laid off people. I had seen poverty as a kid in New York City in the Depression. I don't think I'd ever seen what I would call rural poverty; people out in the boonies in cold houses with nothing to burn in the fireplace and one can of spaghetti for the kids to split, and the parents were not eating anything. Some of those things remained in my memory for quite a while. It's also hard to realize that parts of New York State are the tip end of Appalachia. I did interviewing in some homes that I think their principle source of money was from moonshine and trapping. I can remember one interview in the middle of the winter. I went in and here was a large dining room with a heavy oval yellow oak table. Three men were sitting there all in sort of quilted jackets and padded clothes sitting at one end of the table with a jug in front of them. They were really preserved in alcohol for the winter. They were just sitting there, and they talked to me. It was one of these strange things if you think of a CPS interview. What were you doing most of last week working or doing something else? You got three guys who trapped, who made moonshine and sat during the winter and drank. I don't remember quite what answers I got from them, but they offered me a drink from the jug and I remember saying I can't drink while I'm working. The old man at the head of the table said "who's to know." We had problems in New York City with distrust and noninterview. I can remember in one Bronx office there were again competing factions during the census, and these people started to take things out of each other's files to embarrass and confuse them. When one person caught the other one, they retaliated by setting fire to someone's files. It got to be sort of a zoo when you had to clean some of this stuff out.

Reiner: **You stayed there in that office until when?**

Young: I went back to New York I guess in late 1958 and stayed there through I guess the end of 1960 and then returned to Washington, DC. We had other problems. We had payroll problems. The payrolls were computed in the regional office. They were computed in bundles of 100 payrolls, and they were supposed to balance as to hours, mileage, withholding, social security, taxes, and the rest of it. Unfortunately, I guess some of the payroll clerks, who were temporary employees, forced the totals to agree. In other words, the component parts of all these withholdings and social security taxes and estimates. I can remember we

had a check, I think it was from Census Bureau to the Internal Revenue Service. Perhaps it was to the Social Security Administration; money that we had withheld and were supposed to give this check to one of them to pay them off. It was for over a million dollars but it wasn't the right amount. We had to sort of audit or redo literally thousands of payrolls to get it straight and then get a corrected check for them. We had a million dollar check sitting in the files for a couple of months. In 1960 in New York, the regional office was at the U.S. Customs House which is located by the Staten Island Ferry. There really wasn't room in that building to expand, so we got some additional space at 346 Broadway. I guess it's a government building now, but originally it was the New York Life Insurance Company. In itself it was a very interesting building. It was one of the tallest buildings that was built of masonry with load bearing walls. The walls down at the lower levels are four foot thick in certain areas. It had very small elevators; it had a lot of properties in it, and I know we overloaded the floors. We came in there and used them as warehouses for census supplies and had cartons of paper six or eight foot high which scared some of the people half to death. We set up this whole separate office in 346 Broadway. Jerry Litsky was the Assistant Regional Supervisor. I left him really in charge of all the current surveys. Tony Lobritto [Anthony J. Lobritto], John Cullinane [Supervisory Survey Statistician at the time of the 1960 census of Population and Housing, Field Division, NY Regional Office], and I took Josephine Messina, who was like the second secretary,[during the 1960 census], up to the new office at 346 Broadway and with the four of us we built up the whole regional office at 346 Broadway. We had well over 100 employees for operations. There were things that the Bureau was not so expert at. Our regional staff now is trained in public relations. I went to the New York office and no one had ever given me any training in dealing with the press, press releases, press conferences.

Reiner: **What are some of the other strengths and weaknesses of the Field Division in the time that you were there?**

Young: Let me tell you one of the things that I think was a great strength, and there aren't many people in the Field Division who remember him—Ivan Monroe. Jack Robertson, who was Chief when I first came, died. But Jack Robertson was a very thoughtful and a very good leader. He gave us a lecture once on survey taking and likened it to going out on a vacation. If you take a survey, it's just like trying to pack a suitcase. Now you can take everything under the sun. You can prepare

for snow; you can prepare for heat. He said, "you can carry so many bags you'll never get there." He said, "you can also go out with practically nothing, and then you are going to have a lousy time because you don't have a bathing suit or you don't have what you need for the trip." He said, "what you've got to do is to plan ahead for that vacation as to what you need." He said, "this is very similar in survey work." He said, "you've got to plan what you need and not be so extravagant that you have so much staff that you're burdened unnecessarily, but you've got to have enough to get the job done." When you think about it, planning for a good vacation and planning for a good survey are similar. Ivan Monroe was a pillar of strength to a lot of us. The Chief was Bob Voight [Robert B. Voight, Chief, Field Division to July 1960], who had come over from Population Division, where he had been assistant Chief for Operations and Management. The administrative officer was Jeff McPike. I think one of the real virtues, the thing that many of us looked to, was that those three were really pretty good men.

Reiner: **Ivan Monroe had the surveys?**

Young: Yes, he was sort of the subject- matter specialist. Before Monroe came to the Bureau, he had done personnel work in the Department of Defense, I think during the war. As a young man, I think he had been in charge of some Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps during the Depression. He was a very interesting fellow.

Reiner: **So, you feel some of the strength of the Field Division was its personnel at those levels.**

Young: Yes, I think what you had in Jack Robertson, Bob Voight, and Ivan Monroe, were men that were generals, that could do a lot of things, had a perspective to see the whole picture, and realized a lot of times that we depend on human beings to get the job done; they did not concentrate on procedures or methodology. In that way, Jack Robertson was very much concerned about improving the quality of the people in the Field Division. I think there must have been about 25 individuals that joined the Bureau in 1952, but only three of them retired from the Bureau. Joe Norwood [Joseph R. Norwood, Director, Charlotte Regional Office at the time of the 1960 census], was one of them. Many of the others went on to other Government jobs and other things. Some of them went into academia. One of them I think is still a professor at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. Jack Robertson, however, had this feeling that if you're going to do a good job you need some good people, and I think sometimes we currently have lost

sight of that. We are more apt to say well if you give me all the right machines and the right procedures maybe people aren't so important. I would tend to think the more complicated the procedures and the more sophisticated the equipment you may be even more dependent on having well motivated and capable people to do the job. So, one of our strengths was that type of person. George Klink [George K. Klink, Chief, Demographic Programs Branch at the time of the 1960 census] was in Field Division. We had Hugh Duffey [Hugh S. Duffey, special assistant to the Chief of Field Division at the time of the 1960 census], and Jack Silver [Chief of Field Methods Research Branch, to October 1963]. These were very capable people. I probably have forgotten some of them I shouldn't have. The big fellow from Oklahoma, Jim Bell [Assistant to the Chief for Operations, Field Division, during the 1950 census], died shortly after I joined the Bureau. One of the strengths was the staff, and they were concerned about doing the job well and about the subject matter. Ivan Monroe felt that the Field Division perhaps should not be in a position of asking absolutely ridiculous questions that some subject-matter person in the Housing Division dreams up that are weird. Let me give you one example. In the 1950 and 1960 censuses the Bureau asked enumerators to rate housing as to whether it was sound or dilapidated. Ivan Monroe went out and observed people in the field and tried to do this himself, and he said that's a lot of foolishness. A special census test was conducted in Memphis, and I was sent there to conduct the training sessions. So I trained a large number of enumerators in the Memphis test and then went out in the field with them and saw that it just didn't work at all. So, in 1957, two people in the Bureau wrote memos saying that the condition item was really a bad item, a spurious item; the results were not sound. It was Ivan Monroe and myself. Ivan got away with it; but, I got a reprimand from the Housing Division staff, that no one in the Housing Division should be disloyal to the aims of the division. In other words, it was the party line that we wanted a "condition" question, and no one should say that you couldn't collect it. I always felt happy that Ivan and I were a few years ahead of our time, because by 1970 we weren't asking that question. Field Division was learning. You know we're doing things in the field now with outreach, data dissemination, etc., that we were literally not allowed to do 20 or so years ago. To do that would have been in conflict with the Department of Commerce field office. There was a certain jealously between the two. Our role or my role as a regional supervisor was to be in charge of data collection and not dissemination. I thought it was terrible because I had the people who knew more about all the

damn questions on a business census, an agriculture census, or a population census. We had trained staff and we knew the concepts and the definitions. We could answer questions, but we were not supposed to. If we were to get an inquiry, we were supposed to refer it over to the Empire State Building where the Department of Commerce field office was located. I thought it was wrong. I argued for a change in the role. I think Ivan was sympathetic to it but by that time they were sort of switching. Bob Voight left the Bureau after the 1960 census and went to the SALK project. If I remember correctly, Jeff McPike became the Division Chief, and he was not quite as sympathetic to subject-matter area problems as Ivan was.

Reiner: **Thinking back, what other things would you have done differently if you had power over the decision?**

Young: An example I could give you took place in 1960. I had 29 offices, and someone had to supervise 29 temporary district offices. Someone had to set up a table of organizations at Bureau headquarters that determined that I would get seven regional field assistants. One of them had a masters degree in education but couldn't even fill out an application. I had a resident supervisor that "burned up" one of my people. Then I had some offices which were in disarray. I just called up Washington and said the table of organizations is insufficient. Headquarters said we're sorry; you'll just have to live with that because that's all the staff that is available. I felt this was a mistake. We can't sit in Washington and say that the supervisory problems are the same in New York as they are in Des Moines, Omaha, or great middle America where people are much more apt to behave themselves; the work ethic remains still reasonably secure. I think we have perhaps gotten a little smarter after the 1960, 1970, and the 1980 experiences. I don't think we do supervisory staffing on the basis that the span of control in New York can be the same as it can be in other places. But at that time, one office was the same as any other place, and it just wasn't true. No one realized in 1960 how much floor space was required to set up the materials for all the crew leader training. We ended up, and we were very lucky, with space in the Brooklyn Army Terminal. We got about 60,000 square feet in there for warehouse space. We set out the skids, and on each skid we loaded what was needed for a particular crew leader district the enumerator portfolios, the manuals, everything. Tony Lobritto really worked with a crew of clerical stevedores. We had that whole 60,000 feet, skid after skid, and what you had to figure was a route. I think we used Railway

Express trucks. You loaded the trucks in reverse order—the skids went on last, and last on was first off. We had all these training sites at churches, community centers, the synagogues, etc. A Railway Express driver would have a map and he'd have 10 skids in his truck, and they'd go off and he'd stop in the correct order and leave each skid at each place with the manuals, portfolios, maps and so forth. Now they took logistics training to get this thing set up and to do it. I don't think anybody had ever figured that that's what it was going to take to get it done in New York. We ran out of questionnaires in New York City. In 1960, there was a separate questionnaire that was used in New York State. We had a citizens question; I think a question on Puerto Rican birth that was not on the questionnaires used in the other states. We had enough questionnaires but we didn't have enough of the Individual Census Reports (ICRs) and some of the smaller ones. I can remember asking Washington to send me more and they gave me some song and dance that it was going to take 3 or 4 weeks. We talked to a local Government Printing Office (GPO) man in the New York area, and he started to balk until I said one magic word, "overtime." He said, "oh, overtime, I can have it for you tomorrow morning." As long as we were willing to pay overtime, you could get overnight service or damn close to it. I think we needed 50,000. No one envisioned what "T-night" was in New York City.

Reiner: **You mean no one here?**

Young: No one here in Washington. I can remember as a kid reading about the taxi cab brigade that brought the troops to the front in World War I and saved Paris; well, you should have seen New York City. We had one of the largest synagogues which was very gracious and let us use its whole basement. Just as we used the Brooklyn Army Terminal for this warehouse, we set up the same sort of thing but on a smaller scale in the synagogue basement. We had all the "T-night" people come in for training. George Klink was in New York from Washington, and he worked in that basement day and night; then employees "peeled off" from their training and went down to the basement and everything was labeled as to which hotel they were to go to. In some cases where there were women, we had a strong-armed man to help them get into the cab with it, and we had the cabs lined up the whole length of the block as these people just "peeled out" of the temple with their bundle of stuff and said take me to the Pennsylvania, to the Commodore, the Aster hotels and also a great many other hotels that you've never heard

of, including some hotels that no one usually stays in more than an hour which just loved having a red, white, and blue census guy sitting in the lobby.

Reiner: **I guess what I"m hearing is that there's just no way you can sit here in Washington and anticipate what would happen say in New York or elsewhere in the country, either then or now.**

Young: I don't think you can, and I think the thing that disturbs me the most is that with the retirement at 55 and the early out that the Bureau went through recently, we don't have enough people left here in Washington that have been in the trenches; that scares me more than anything else. We've got some awfully smart kids, and I hate to say it —they're wet behind the ears. They have never knocked on doors to do anything. They've never had the wonderful discomfort of a "crew leader class" where they were supposed to have 12 people whom they recruited and the class starts and 5 of them don't show up, 2 of them quit at lunch time, and when you finish the first day you have 5 left. Panic begins. How am I going to get the job done with 5 out of 12? I have to do my recruiting all over, and I'm supposed to be observing these people. The refusals; the fact that the enumerators are sent someplace to cover a special place and the mayor greets you; all of a sudden, however, you find that some city councilman is dead set against the mayor, and he's going to the newspaper telling everybody to refuse.

Reiner: **I take it you feel that your field experiences have really enhanced your career that will be the subject of the next interview.**

Young: Well, let me say this. I have insisted, and very few people like to hear it, that the only way you should get to work in Washington is to spend 2 years in the field first. Some people have told me that we'd never get any mathematical statisticians if that was the case because none of them want to spend 2 years doing "pick and shovel" work before working at Bureau headquarters. I'm very serious about this. The work of the Bureau, the data we collect, depends on the American public and the American businessman. When you've sat down with some businessman who takes a look at your questionnaire, laughs at you and makes up numbers as he goes along, you realize that we have some problems, and that we'd better do something about improving our public relations with some of these people to get the job done. The other thing that's tragic is that you get the guy that's trying to make a living in a small business who gets the census questionnaire. He is going to send it to his accountant, and his accountant is going to charge him $75 to fill this form. Extra charge, census form, $75 or more. In 1960 in New York, we had

people (every 4th household was left a blue book to mail back) who were "fast buck" guys figuring out who got the blue book: they were knocking on doors and telling them they'd help them fill it out for $10 or something. Otherwise, if they didn't fill it out they'd go to jail; they scared the devil out of some people. I think that many of the people that do our work have got to be exposed to collecting the information both from households and businesses. One of the problems I see with input from our staff in Washington is that it's basically "upper middle class intellectual"; they have lived in their own social and economic circle all their lives, and they think the United States is like them. The truth of the matter is that it's not. If you think that everybody is like you and me and we design questionnaires and work projects that you and I would be interested in and could do, that's a far cry from the rest of the country.

Reiner: **Do you feel you had input in these matters when you were a regional census manager? Did people listen to you then?**

Young: No. The sad thing is that I came back to Bureau headquarters for some debriefing in 1960 to discuss some of the problems. In 1970, I sent my assistant, Len Norry, to New York City to run an office in Queens. He came back and said about the same thing I said in 1960, and they made the same mistakes in 1980. Again, not enough of the people in the decision-making positions have been in the "trenches."

Reiner: **It may sound like we're conspiring, I've agreed with most of what you've said here, particularly recently because it's music to a Field Division person's ears. I share those thoughts and I think we may be able to use something like this.**

Young: I'm suggesting that as part of the expenses for planning for the 1990 census, we seriously think of staff development using special censuses or use something like we have for primary sampling units (PSUs) in the redesign, with only one survey in a PSU. It may be health, it may be housing, or something else. Take people out of Washington and tell them you're going to spend 4 weeks in Dayton, Ohio, and you've got 100 households to interview. When you've finished, come home.

Reiner: **They would learn a lot. I don't know if we can get them all to go, but they would learn a lot.**

Young: They would learn an awful lot. I don't know how many interviewers I have hired over the years who had come to me after their first month's work and say, "Mr. Young, you know your sample isn't representative." I would say, what do you

mean, and they'd say, "oh it has too many poor people." If you go out and you're looking for someone who has some college education and has an automobile available to him, you're getting an upper middle class woman, when she went out and did interviewing and found out that there were all these other people that she never got to meet, she was absolutely convinced that the sample was biased. When I was regional supervisor in New York, we used to have, a supplement on literacy. They used to love to take me out to where all the illiterates were, and it didn't surprise me that this was close to New York City. I'm not talking about foreign born, this was American born illiterates. They exist, and a lot of the people here in Washington don't really comprehend the problem of total illiteracy. Men and women working in the restrooms have a great deal of problems with almost anything. When we thrust some questionnaires on them and call it self-enumeration. They have shadow boxes, index marks, black marks, and little circles to fill in and they are quite imposing. What happens in some of these cases is that their kids fill it out for them or we get bad answers. One of the things that concerns me about all our work is that we always talk about response rates as to how many people sent the questionnaire back; we really don't go the extra step and say what our item "NA rate" is. In other words, how many items were left blank. Some of the things that we've got problems with are things like income questions where 25 to 30 percent are not answered. If you look at the imputation rates on things like asking rent in the census, it's 25-to-40 percent; it's very high. In other words, there were some things that some people didn't try to get in the census or there are other things that they perhaps don't understand or choose not to answer. One of my big worries is that you shouldn't start your public relations campaign by asking the public to cooperate with you in 1989. If you want the public to cooperate with you in 1990, we really should start working on that right now on a very altruistic basis by seeing just how much we can do for the public in getting information to them on all sorts of things that have our name on it, that says these are facts that came from the census of population, housing, agriculture, and business, and keep getting it out on a broader base for public consumption so that they can understand that the Bureau collects facts but makes them available to the American public so that they can see what can happen. Basically, I think it's very important to democracy. Democracy depends on an educated electorate. That doesn't mean you can pass a literacy test; it means that you're up to date on what's happening in the country—the facts on employment and business, housing availability, number of people employed in governments,

money spent on state and local governments, how many people are employed in agriculture, how much food have we got. The plain simple distribution and some of the basic facts about America, not the fancy multiple regression correlation analysis, have got to get out to the people. I would start working on the school kids because many of them will help you in 1990; if you work on the school kids for the next 17 years, by the time you get to the year 2000 you're really going to have strong support. Many of us won't be here either in 1990 or the year 2000, but it seems to me that one of the things that should be incumbent upon all of us is to lay the firm foundation for the machine to move on and do its job better.

Reiner: **You mentioned a lot of people with a lot of experience have taken the early out and so forth. Do you really see that as a big problem?**

Young: When we had that off-site planning meeting for the 1990 census, I think I was the only one in the room and perhaps Stan Moore [Stanley D. Moore, Director, Chicago Regional Office during the 1990 census], who had any experience with the 1960 census. A really experienced person at that meeting was someone who had been here for 1970 and 1980. Many of the Bureau's staff only had worked on the 1980 census. I sat in these committees and various task forces; when one talked about conventional enumeration, that meant what we did in 1980 in the nonmailout/ mailback areas. Conventional enumeration to some of us who had been here for 30 years meant knocking on every door. Even the words change their meaning and are forgotten. Some of us joke that some young person is going to come up with a real radical idea. They are going to give a listing sheet to a person and tell them to go walk about the block starting in the northwest corner and proceed in a clockwise fashion and list every house and enumerate as you go and that will be a new idea and a new way to take a census. Early in my career, the Bureau sent me to a little town in Pennsylvania to take a special census, actually it was the Transportation Board I think that had asked for the census. Before I had completed that census, I had been working with the city officials to get a list of candidates. I tested them, talked to them, trained them. I don't think I had more that 10 people working for me. I had to certify their payroll, I had to tell one poor old man that half the work he'd done was in someone else's enumeration district (ED) or a couple of other EDs. I had come to an abrupt halt in one area because it was the Polish part of town, and they would not talk to someone who was not bilingual. I had to go back to the city fathers, and they immediately understood the problem and referred me to a priest who sent me to a couple of

Polish-speaking women; then, things just went as smooth as silk. Got the whole job done, certified the payroll, gave the count to the city fathers. They were just as happy as bugs in a rug. It's a very satisfactory feeling to say well I'm a census taker and I've supervised and conducted a census. I think it's an experience that a lot of young people here at the Bureau headquarters should be exposed to; it would help.

Reiner: **I'm very glad to hear you say it.**

Young: I think it's really an essential part of a lot of these employees work. I am mainly talking about the demographic side, but I did work on the business surveys, too. I followed up nonresponse in the Annual Survey of Business. I think it also pertains to people who work in the business area. Until you have visited some poor, hysterical businessman whose secretary/bookkeeper/receptionist has just "gone off" with a nervous breakdown because he's found out that his secretary has been throwing out all the tax, census, and workman's compensation forms for the last 15 months. You're sitting in his office along with someone from Internal Revenue Service, the state income tax department, workman's compensation, and Social Security Administration all pounding on this guy's door for his failure to keep his paperwork up. You can begin to realize what the Government can do to some businessman when his system collapses. I can also remember the guy who spelled out his name slowly for me in New York, and he said, "that's my name, now sue me." He said, "I'm not going to fill your questionnaire out." The sad thing is that we're a paper tiger when it comes to this business because I don't think any U.S. Marshall in New York City is going to grab some furier by the nape of the neck; shake them to fill out some Annual Business form. So you have got to do the best you can. I felt that my whole career in the Bureau was enhanced by the fact that I worked in the field, worked in the Housing Division, went back to the field, and came back to the Housing Division. In between, when I came back from New York City, I spent a year on Capitol Hill with the Post Office and Service Committee. Basically being able to see both sides of it I think was extremely worthwhile. I kind of feel very lucky that I had that chance to do it because I see a parochialism in some of the people in the Bureau. They're in their respective divisions and that's it, and the world seems to end where their office ends. You step over that line and by God, you're in foreign territory. I have trouble with my own staff here trying to get them to realize that there are Population Division reports, Construction Division reports, Bureau of Labor Statistics

reports, there are private reports from planning groups that they should read and be aware of. There is a lot of information in the Statistical Abstract that is very helpful. One person I clearly remember was Len Isley, who was the regional supervisor in Los Angeles. He helped me when we did the 1954 Census of Business which was the last Business Census done in the field. Len Isley and I went out to Long Island, NY, to the Maritime Academy or one of the places out there where they had stored furniture. Here we were in what had once been barracks, and the desks were stacked in this barracks five high. Len and I would walk through there; we'd climb up and down, and we'd see a desk that looked good so we'd lift two desks off the top of it to get to the one desk we wanted. We spent days down there. Between the two of us, we were absolutely sure that to be a success in the field you needed a strong back and a weak brain. We'd always send cardboard boxes of questionnaires out to a new field office and tell our employees to put them in filing cabinets. I don't think we should do that. I think we should take a filing cabinet, put the dividers in it, and set up the questionnaires in a specified order and then seal them with glass tape and then send the filing cabinet out there so that if someone from the regional office or Washington goes into any office they can ask— "where's your number 2 filing cabinet?" I want the second drawer from the bottom; look in there and you'll get your "dogbite" form. Not that no one can ever find it or decides to put it someplace else; but if you had that kind of prearranged planning for administrative forms and some of the other stuff, you could send them and everybody would know where what is. You could be talking on the phone and say, "Go to the light blue filing cabinet we sent you and look in the top drawer, about two- thirds of the way back is what you need." It would make things a lot easier. One of the things, by the way, just maybe one closing note that I think is lacking is also the concept of what I call the "resident gangster." We come up with a lot of plans in the Bureau, and I think that one of the things that field experience tells you is how people can twist those plans around sometimes to stab you in the back. We have too many sweet-natured people who don't think that people cheat or are devious or anything. For example, we keep talking about how important it is to be counted; it pays to be counted. I think sooner or later you are going to have a lot of trouble with duplicates in the census; that someone will come up with the idea that if it pays to be counted, it pays to be counted twice, and I think that maybe one of the coming problems in the future is what you might call the "census fraud." I think some census historians have noted that in some few communities in the past there were great jumps

in population, and they have looked into it and found conspiracy and collusion in the community to raise the count. Some of it may be very conscious, some of it may be sort of unconscious; when in doubt, give the answer that helps the most that it might be enough to bias the results. I think this is one of the things we've got to look for in the future. If you are totally dependent on automation to get the job done, then you are totally at the mercy of sabotage. If I don't have enough people to check questionnaires in because I have one guy with a magic wand, what happens if the magic wands breaks. I had troubles in 1960. I had two simple pieces of equipment—a letter opener and a letter sealer. Are you familiar with the letter opener you used to have, to bounce the letters on a flat surface so that the contents fell down and then you'd run them through with a knife but you put them through so that the bottom was away from the knife so that you'd slit the top. I would show people how to do this, and they would take those letters and then put the bottom right into the machine so they were slicing questionnaires every time. The letter sealer that we had came with a tube that had a thin slit in it that put a light bead of water on the envelope and with that you got a very fine spring steel blade to clear that slit because it would get gummed up. Once that slit got gummed up, it wouldn't work. Time and time again though, that piece of steel was originally tied to the machine, but it disappeared. The machine doesn't work it's all gummed up but where's the cleaner, what cleaner Mr. Young, there was no cleaner. They resented these machine because they could see that it was going to put them out of work. In 1960, we had to have a crew that went around to close out offices. Some of those offices that we went into, the staff that was left sat and watched Tony Lobritto and some other people pack the boxes, do the final check out, seal them up cause they weren't going to do anything to close out the offices putting them out of work.

Love: **My name is Lawrence Love, and I am interviewing Mr. Arthur Young, Chief of the Housing Division on Tuesday October 2, 1984. Arthur, you recall that some time ago, George Reiner interviewed you about your experiences with the Bureau in the early years when you came to the Field Division. What I would like to do now is to ask you about your experiences in the Housing Division, after you left the Field Division.**

Young: When I left the New York Regional Office, I returned to Bureau headquarters. My title was Assistant Chief of the Field Division for Field Inspection, and I spent a year on Capitol Hill working with the Post Office and Civil Service

Committee. I don't remember if I called it that in the last interview or not. However, at that time, the Bureau had agreed with the Subcommittee on Census and Government Statistics to provide two staff members to assist the subcommittee with statistical consultations. I worked for 12 months on Capital Hill before returning to the Housing Division as Assistant Chief under Daniel Rathbun [Daniel B. Rathbun, chief, from October 1961 to September 1962; assistant chief, from February 1961 to October 1961]. Wayne Daughtery [Wayne F. Daughtery, chief to October 1961] who was the first Chief of Housing Division, left the Bureau and took a job at the United Nations. Frank Kristoff, [assistant chief, to December 1960] resigned and returned to a position with New York City. Dan Rathbun wanted me to be assistant chief. As I recall the situation at the time, there was a little bit of reluctance further up the line for making me assistant chief. There was some thought that I should return to that position. Before I returned to the Bureau headquarters, I was a branch chief of a research and coordination Branch, in which I didn't really feel particularly comfortable. There were some things in the work there that I had never done, and had to rely entirely on my subordinates. I really preferred not to be in that area. Truthfully, there was another benefit to the new position. At that time in the Bureau, this was 1962 or 1961, the only offices that were air conditioned were those of division chiefs and assistant division chiefs. I felt that after spending two and one-half years in New York City and a year on Capital Hill that I really didn't want to come back and sit in an unair-conditioned space, being blown by fans all summer. I kind of got stubborn and held out for the assistant chief's job, which eventually I got. What I didn't know at the time was that Dan Rathbun was negotiating for a job outside the Bureau with the Department of Defense as one of Mr. McNamara's "wiz kids." Within 6 months of my return to the Housing Division, Dan left for the Department of Defense, leaving me as acting chief of the Housing Division.

Love: **What grade were you at that time?**

Young: I think I was a GS-14. The regional directors were GS-14, and I think the assistant chief was too. When I became assistant chief, I may have been promoted to GS-15, but I really don't remember. It was sometime in there. I know that I was a GS-15 by the time I became acting chief. The fact that I became acting chief did not sit comfortably with some of the old Housing Division staff that Wayne Daughtery had brought with him into the division from the old Population and Housing Division in 1956. I guess when Frank Kristoff left and Rathbun was

brought in, Carl Coan also left and took a position as a staffer to the Housing Committee in the United States Senate. He held that job until his death. Beulah Washabaugh left a few months after I came in as Acting Chief to work in the Bureau's International Statistics Programs. Hugh Rose [Matthew J. Rose, Statistician, Coordination and Research Branch, Housing Division, to January 1963] took a job overseas, I think in Kenya. So there was a relative house cleaning or turnover. The most pressing piece of work that had to be done when I took over as Chief was the U.S. Summary for Volume 1 of the 1960 census. At that time, the summary volumes contained considerable analytical text, including a summary of findings and a comparison of the 1960 findings to previous censuses. The summary was being written by the staff and reviewed by some of the branch chiefs; it took an embarrassingly long time to get released. As a sort of field hand returning to Washington, I didn't feel that I should butt in with respect to the "nuts and bolts" writing of that report. I guess, in hindsight I should have. Conrad Taeuber [Conrad Taeuber, Associate Director for Demographic Fields from March 1968 to January 1973; previously Assistant Director for Demographic Field, from April 1951 to March 1968] once commented that he was disappointed that it was not only late, it was also really kind of "pedestrian," I think was the phrase he had used. That finally got done, but it was a period of great change. I think during the period of the 1960 Census that there had been some antagonism in the Bureau. I was still in New York. I think one of the reasons Dan Rathbun left was that he had looked at the budget which covered the next 3 or 5 year period. He took one look at that and saw that there was practically no money for the Housing Division. The budget allowed just enough money to support the Chief and the Chief's secretary. Rathbun corrected that to a degree; when I took over in 1963-1964, Housing Division had about enough money to support 6 or 7 people. At the end of the 1960 Census, we had a staff of 13 or 14 people. We couldn't keep everybody so it was necessary to place at least half the staff in other divisions and in other agencies. If I remember, I got two people placed in the Housing and Home Finance Agency, one person went to work in the Department of Defense on a housing project, one person went to work with Dr. Andrew Brimmer [who later became a member of the Federal Reserve Board], and some of the statistical clerks were placed in the Foreign Trade Division or the Industry Division. So the low point of the Housing Division was that period, 1963-1964, when we had only six or seven people. This was the simple result that the 1960 decennial census funding was over. We didn't have a

continuing survey program except for the Housing Vacancy Survey (HVS), which was part of the Current Population Survey (CPS). The only thing we did do was some special tabulation, what we called "substandard tabulations"; it was a joke. It wasn't until the funds were appropriated for planning the 1970 census that we were able to rebuild the Housing Division.

Love: **So you really came in at a point when the size and activity levels were low.**

Young: It was quite low. The greatest activity that I had as a Division Chief was finding jobs for the people who I wanted to be able to recall when we started the 1970 census planning without totally losing them. This was achieved. Three of the people who left temporarily were Aaron Josowitz [Chief, Occupation and Utilization Statistics, Housing Division, from August 1961 to 1964], Nat Krevor [Nathan Krevor, Chief, Coordination and Research Branch, Housing Division, from December 1961 to 1963], and Alex Findlay [Alexander C. Findlay, Chief, Facilities and Equipment Branch, Housing Division, from prior to the 1960 census to 1963]. Aaron was later to become the Assistant Division Chief. These were key people that we managed to save at the time. We also retained some middle-level professionals as well as the statistical clerks. Like many of the professional divisions, Housing Division depended not only on the professional statisticians but on the high-grade statistical clerks. That we were able to draw back Mary Carroll and Loretta Butler, and I think Elvira Languor was good. These were all very important people to the division.

Love: **Art, over the years you've been chief of this division, which I think probably in modern times is near a record if it isn't the record. Maybe you could tell me a bit about how the division has changed. I know today you are involved in quite a number of projects. In general how it changed and what, if you can give a perspective to it, brought this evolution to the division.**

Young: Well, one of the things that we saw in that low period in the 1960s was a period of national urban renewal and development. As a result, there was a greater need for local housing statistics—really statistics by each Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), by each census tract within the SMSA and in some cases block by block. Those statistics were substantial for both urban planning and for the proper application of Federal programs to the cities; the data we had from 1960 rapidly became outdated. Cities were changing very quickly, and there was a need for updated, current information about the Nation's housing and about

housing in localities. One of the things that we started to develop in the 1960s was a program of current housing statistics. At that time in OMB, there was a gentleman by the name of Larry Bloomberg who was our overseer for forms control, surveys, and so forth. Larry was a great help in designing and putting together a prospectus for an annual housing survey. Completing that task took quite some time. It really didn't "hit" the field until 1973. We tried to get funding for the National Housing Survey first through the Bureau, then through the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and then through various other avenues. It took a great deal of time, but we built that program up. During this time, there was also a concern with how fast newly constructed multi-unit properties were filling up. So we developed a survey which was really an extension of the work that was done in the Construction Division where they produced data on construction permits, starts, and completions. We created the Survey of Market Absorption that looked at the completed multi-unit constructions with five or more units to see how fast they were rented. Also, in this period, there was an interest in the effects of New York City's rent control program; in particular, the condition, quantity, availability, and rents of housing in New York City. Rent control had started there during World War II. Many groups in New York wanted to see rent control end while others felt that it was their only protection against inflation and housing shortages. The New York City Rent Control Law was written in such a way that if rental vacancies exceeded 5 percent at any time, rent control could end. We were asked to take a special survey of New York City housing every 2 years; later that was changed to every 3 years. We started with a survey that was somewhere close to 30,000 housing units; we later found that we could achieve the necessary accuracy with a sample of 16,000 or 18,000 housing units. Of course, we got into all the pretesting and planning for the 1970 census, but building up for the census and doing the work in the very early 1970s to prepare for the Annual Housing Survey built the Housing Division from its low point of 6 or 7 employees to probably 60 or 65 employees. What we have seen is the growing need for up-to-date information on housing, something that fills in the gaps between the 10-year census benchmarks. This effort has been reflected in the current programs that we run, the content of the Housing Vacancy Survey, part of the Current Population Survey (CPS), the Annual Housing Survey, and other programs. In the 1980s, there has been a national sample which is conducted every 2 years, instead of every year or so, called the American Housing Survey. That survey again reflects one of the important things about housing

data—that you need not only a national snapshot, you need something about specific market or metropolitan areas. For the original design of the Annual Housing Survey we had planned to interview 60,000 households in a national sample. We interviewed a sample of 5 or 10 thousand housing units in 20 SMSAs each year to see the degree of variation around national averages that you get for varying metropolitan areas—highs and lows. We had those 20—actually we had 60 SMSAs—and we interviewed them every 3-years. The purpose here was to be able to see how much difference there was between a slow growing or declining metropolitan area, say in the North-Central or Northeastern area, with what was happening in the South, Southwest, and the West. Budget cuts caused us later to drop the rotation to once every 4 years so that we did 15 SMSAs every 4 years instead of 20 every 3 years. Further budget cuts have reduced that number down to about 44 SMSAs where we do 11 each year, more or less. Though the survey has been cut, it is still aimed at meeting these intercensal needs for information on housing. I guess we reached a peak during the 1980 census of maybe 75 employees. We're now down to about 55.

Love: **I think from your experiences with the Census Bureau and particularly your involvement with the Housing Division you've probably had a good vantage point to see the impact of legislation on housing. I wonder for the record if you'd mind giving us your view of what the impact has been at least in your tenure.**

Young: One of the things that we got into, of course, in the 1950s and 1960s was urban renewal. The Nation had suffered through the great depression of the 1930s, and then we had moved into World War II. Therefore, basically for a period of let's say from 1930 to 1945, there was minimal building in this country. When we got to the 1950 census, we found that the median age of housing in this country was really much older than it is today or had been at other times. A lot of this was a problem—we had considerable urban decay. During World War II, we didn't build new factories; we made use of the factories that were in our urban centers. This tended to concentrate the population in urban centers rather than to disperse it. There were some exceptions to this, but in large part we made use of the industrial plants that were in our SMSAs. Gasoline rationing, and so forth, also tended to compact the population. This put a heavy strain on the older housing. Once the war was over, we saw that we had urban decay and a need for renewal. Congress passed legislation, but we needed data to determine which areas were suffering the most, which needed the help, where should funds be allocated. We

needed data to provide city planners with the plans for urban growth and development. All of this concern with the renewal of our cities and our housing stock was reflected in Federal, state, and local legislation. People were hungry for data, and the information came forth and was used. I can remember seeing private consultants that took census publications in the 1960s and blotted out the name on them, made photocopies and sold them as original research to help people in their planning work. Those consultants made a considerable profit on a $4 or $5 publication. As I said the Nation was data hungry. We also were concerned with the sheltered financial arrangement that we had with the savings and loans institutions that provided mortgage capital at rates below the market. Everybody seemed to take it for granted that you could get a 6-percent mortgage on your home, but the man who built your home had to go to a commercial bank to get a builder's loan for which he paid 8 or 8.5 percent. This, you might say, was considered part of national policy—to promote home ownership for as many people as possible. The civil rights movement also brought forth an interest in housing segregation and examined whether there was discrimination in housing. As a result, we had a number of laws passed that dealt with fair housing. Here again there was now a concern that there were concentrations of racial and ethnic groups and that there was de facto segregation taking place. This was one of the other sides of renewal. There were concerns that there would be proper financial backing, mortgage capital availability, and end the elements of discrimination in housing. All of these things were reflected in legislation. As we went on a little further, we developed rent subsidy programs, rent vouchers, and fair market rent determinations. The Department of Defense always was interested in having the right amount to give to noncommissioned officers and officers who lived off base for housing allowances, to be sure that these allowances permitted them to obtain safe and sound housing within the area of the base where they were located.

Love: **Compare the post-World War II building boom with what's happening recently. The population continues to grow; housing starts have been down for quite some time. Are we now back to a period of renovating older housing?**

Young: It's really very hard to say. We had a tremendous boom in building during the 1970s. The 1980 census interestingly enough was almost the pivotal point when things started to change. Maybe they started to change just after the 1980 census, but it in many ways was the high-water mark. The Nation went through a real building boom in the 1970s. Probably 22 million housing units were built during

the 1970s. We had this tremendous increase in housing with about a 28-percent increase in housing and only an 11-percent increase in population. In the early 1980s, we have had a recession which is now ending, and we have a much healthier economy. Since the building boom, housing prices have gone up about 180 percent and wages and salaries have gone up about 110 percent. Relatively speaking, housing was more expensive when compared to earnings at the beginning of the decade. As a result of the banking deregulation act and the large deficits accumulated during the early 1980s, we saw interest rates climb. I guess at one point, interest rates were as high as 19 percent. They have since dropped, but a 30-year fixed rate mortgage is still probably 14 or 14.5 percent. That interest rate means that someone is probably paying 140 percent more on each one thousand dollars borrowed than they were paying 12 or 15 years ago. This raises real questions about the affordability of housing. Higher prices and higher interest rates means that the monthly payment (the bottom line for most people, because very few people buying their homes just lay down $75,000 and buy a home) will be higher. The monthly payments on that mortgage are a larger percent of their income than it was previously. When we look at home ownership, we see that it has declined in the last few years, mostly among younger households. Actually, among older households, it is slightly up. However, the overall situation is in decline. So that the probable problem with housing, the most critical thing that we look at today, is the question of affordability. I think what we've done is to raise the whole baby boom generation on television. We have not really quite understood what visual images did to the creation of attitudes and value systems among our youth and children as they grew up. If you look at the number of hours they watch television and then consider the type of housing that they saw through this whole period, most of the housing shown on television is something that we cannot afford ourselves. In very few instances do we see housing which is at our economic level. Jackie Gleason and "the Honeymooners," which ran for a number of years in that sort of crumby tenement in New York City, is one of the few examples of housing that was not plush. When you compare that to the housing that appeared as the background for most of the Walt Disney movies and series like, "Bachelor Father," the "Dick VanDyke Show," the "Mary Tyler Moore Show," "Dallas," and "Dynasty," for example, the housing is opulent. Many of the people my age joke about the fact that when my wife and I got married, we rented an apartment, were happy to have a bed of our own, orange crates for end tables, borrowed dressers, used bricks and boards for

bookcases, and used furniture similar to lawn furniture in our livingroom because they were the cheapest thing we could get. Now you see young people getting married with complete bedroom sets and rugs, livingroom suites, appliances, washers and dryers; things that we didn't get for a least 5 or 10 years after we were married. My wife and I were just joking the other night. We have a daughter that is going to college and has an apartment that she shares with some other girls. She was telling us that she desperately needs a vacuum cleaner. Well, we didn't get a vacuum cleaner until probably the 7th or 8th year of our marriage; we used a carpet sweeper. When we suggested that maybe we could get her a carpet sweeper there was kind of a blank look on her face. She didn't even know what it was. We have developed some very high standards and aspirations for housing. It is very hard to convince some of these youngsters that they should buy less than what they were accustomed to seeing on television.

Love: **That is an interesting point, Art. I noticed recently on the news, that single-family housing starts were down this month but building permits issued for apartment buildings were still up and continuing to climb. So it tends to be a bit of a dichotomy that houses were much larger, poorly furnished as you know when people got married and started housekeeping. Today, they seem to have much more material things, but no house.**

Young: The number of building permits for apartments reflects the problem of having a large number of people in our population in the household-formation age groups. If they are going to form households, leave home and set up a house of their own, that house is probably going to be an apartment. I think the builders and entrepreneurs who are concerned with housing investment see the need for rental property to meet this sort of demographic demand and are meeting the housing demand through construction of rental property. I think you have to look very carefully at where it's being built. There has been some over building in some parts of the country, and it will probably balance out. Right now it is very hard for people in the 25-to-34 year old age group to afford a down payment and have enough monthly income to support their own single-family home. It may well mean that we'll get more mobile homes; we may get manufactured homes, row houses, town houses, condominium apartments.

Love: **I think that's true. If you drive around the metropolitan Washington area today, you will see rows upon rows of condominiums being built. It is very seldom when you find a suburb of new single-family homes. Maybe, Art, we could turn for just a minute to some of the major problems that the Housing Division has faced, whether they are in recent years or at least during your tenure as Chief. Maybe you could talk about how these problems were dealt with.**

Young: Well, some of the problems probably haven't been dealt with totally successfully. They probably still exist. Mr. Daughtery did not like being an Assistant Division Chief for Housing in the Population and Housing Division. He felt that housing was getting short shrift in that situation. In 1956 he obtained support outside the Bureau to create a separate Housing Division which solved his problems. There always has been a certain, I guess what we call "housing paranoia." I feel that the demographers looked down their nose at the Population and Housing Division as a subject-matter field. They may have felt it was not a true science or academic discipline. They're probably right. You can go to college and study demography in many branches, but the courses in housing really are more home economics or real estate, not as a subject-matter field. In many ways, housing has been underfunded for a considerable period of time. When you look at the percentage of the Gross National Product that is involved in residence construction, maintenance, and the care and building of the support systems, the streets, roads, utilities, so forth, housing is a very major part of our economy. We really devoted a very minor part of our statistical budget to its study. I think the other thing that I have seen for a long time is the sample design of many of our surveys designed to produce population statistics. It is important to know the percentage of the people who are unemployed. We have less emphasis, perhaps, on the exact number of the unemployed. We can get it. We have pretty good ways to estimate the population. If we think there is a 7-percent unemployment rate, we can derive an absolute number of the unemployed. For some of the work that's done with housing the absolute numbers are much more important than the percentages. If you are working with large industries that produce lumber, steel, brick, or other building materials, they are concerned with the number of housing units built so they can do their trend-line estimates of what the demand will be in the future. This sort of work that tells them that we built maybe 1.4 or 1.6 million units last year, leaves them with some real indigestion. It is particularly true when you get down to local market analysis. If you are in the building materials wholesaling business

serving Austin, Texas, or St. Louis, Missouri, or Duluth, you need to get some estimates of what's going to happen in those market areas for your business. We don't provide that kind of data, and the kind of sample designs that we use are apt to give these people percentage-trend lines but not aggregate or absolute numbers. We have moved in our population sampling from area sample segments to list samples. I have always felt that the area-sample segment was much more appropriate for housing studies than the list segment because we are really concerned with the use of land. When you have an area-sample segment, you can build into your sampling frame some zero segments. In other words, land-area segments with no housing units on them will help you get some measure of new construction, which you may miss through a building permits system. Also, the concept of a land-area segment concentrates on conversions, mergers, and other changes in the standing stock, which you sometimes do not get through a list sample. But, the Bureau's work has been mainly in the field of current population statistics, labor-force data, health statistics, crime statistics, and labor-force data, because the bulk of the Bureau's sample surveys deal with population. Housing has had to conform to those samples because it is cheaper to use that type of sample design. The sponsors have not been really willing, or could not convince executive staffs at the Department of Housing and Urban Development and Agriculture, for example, that has dealt with housing topics that it is really worth the price to establish an independent sampling design for housing. Now, it has bothered me for years that when you look at the Current Population Survey, you can't get agreement in tenure between that survey and the decennial censuses. The Current Population Survey includes 1 to 1.5 percent more owners than the decennial censuses. I don't know which is the right answer, but if the sampling frames that produce 1.5 percent higher home-ownership rates are in error, then we are biasing down with our unemployment statistics because homeowners are much less apt to be unemployed than renters. It's a small point, but that was never a concern in the Bureau to research these problems and put the kind of money needed to solve them.

Love: **Art, when you were talking about the problems with the survey design, it came to mind that the Annual Housing Survey, or the American Housing Survey as it is now called, might offer an exception to this.**

Young: It could offer an exception except that it is the prime example of what would happen if we had gone to an entirely independent sampling design. The sponsor

would have had to probably come up with an additional $1 to 2 million to go into this type of sample design. One of the things that you talked about was the change in the economy and whether we may be getting into more intensive use of the housing stock because of the high cost. I think this is a distinct possibility. We have very high standards, but when you look at some of the floor plans that are coming out in new housing, you see some interesting little designs of town-houses with two master bedroom suites. They have a livingroom, diningroom, kitchen, and then two master bedroom suites, each with its own bathroom. Sometimes the master bedroom suites are on separate floors. This might mean that two young married couples could share such a home. This would make the home affordable. This is much more intensive use. In other words, four people are using that home rather than the two people we would normally think would be in a two-bedroom apartment or townhouse. We may see that some of our suburban homes have seven and eight rooms and an adaptability or flexibility for creating an apartment unit. This may be done, though I think it is hard to imagine that. In more expensive neighborhoods, where the larger homes are it will be difficult to get an agreement from a majority of the population to change the neighborhood from single to two-family homes.

Love: **I think you also can add some dimensions to your definition of what constitutes a housing unit. Embassy couples occupying the same buildings.**

Young: This would require an additional look. European nations have measured overcrowding only when they get to three or more persons per room. American standards generally (not Census Bureau standards) call more than one person per room crowded. In European nations where there is a housing shortage, data will be produced on how many households there are per housing unit. The Bureau's definition says that what occupies a housing unit is a household. So that by definition one occupied housing unit equals one household, which almost prohibits or precludes us from measuring doubling-up, unless we do it through population analysis (looking at secondary families which is a more complicated way to do it). But if we are getting into what amounts to a more intensive use of housing, we may have to develop better ways to measure unrelated or secondary subfamilies in each unit. It is one of the things which reflects a need for good current housing statistics to see how we are adapting as a Nation to the higher cost of housing.

Love: **So you see a real need for some new innovations in the definitions and measures of this, I guess.**

Young: Well, when we started the Annual Housing Survey, the Department of Housing and Urban Development had a really substantial budget for research. I don't remember the numbers precisely, but I think we were perhaps using somewhere around 15 percent of that department's budget for the Annual Housing Survey. Its research budget has been cut over the years, so that even though the Annual Housing Survey or the American Housing Survey has had its budget cut, it now spends over 50 percent of that department's research budget.

Love: **That's a healthy increase.**

Young: So we do have a need for money in this area. There also is some renewed interest in the Census Bureau, for land-use studies. The amount of land in the United States is finite; it will not increase. And though you can fly over the country and see apparently great open areas of land, what you have to remember is that not all that land is suitable for urban development. It does not have water that you can bring into the homes or the topography is such that it would be extremely difficult to take care of sewerage. These two problems represent a hurdle that must be overcome if you are going to have an urban development. You can't have urban development unless you have industry and jobs for people. If some of these places cannot be served by highways or roads (to bring in the raw materials that will come out as manufactured material), you've also got problems. The planning of land use and the loss of agricultural land to urban areas or industrial use is of a concern too. Again, not all that land is suitable for agricultural use. So, I think for the purposes of futuristic planning and looking ahead, we have got to begin to understand and know what the land-use distribution is. We don't even know at this point how many separate parcels of land there are in the United States. We have only broad estimates of how much is owned by the Federal, state, and local governments and also by individuals, corporations, or nonprofit groups. So that we really don't know much about land use in the United States. If we are to plan intelligently for our grandchildren, we ought to begin to set the benchmarks for that kind of study.

Love: **Art, I would like to turn now to your views, your thoughts, and your recollections, if you will, about some external relationships that we have had at the Department level, other Government agencies, or with the public at large. Let me begin by asking you how would you describe our relationship with Congress, especially with the Oversight and the Appropriations Committees?**

Young: Well, the year I spent on Capitol Hill with the Census Bureau and the Governments Statistics Subcommittee was in many ways an eyeopener. It was very apparent that there was not a single Representative that I spoke to that understood what the Bureau did and who could use our publications. This also was true with their staff members. I found that I had a role to play as an interpreter or a translator. When I could sit down with some individual Representative and take the data for his or her state, the congressional district, and the publications, and begin to show them how to use it and how to decipher them, they were amazed at the wealth of information. They were interested and concerned, but also sort of annoyed with the Bureau for being so obtuse, so uncommunicative in our publication. Many of these people became quite impressed with our professionalism, probably the accuracy of the numbers, our dedication, and our ability to communicate. I think many of them felt that the agency was really quite righteous. The one case I remember in point was that the chairman of our appropriations subcommittee many years ago asked us to certify that his congressional district was over 500,000 population—that it had grown. The Bureau was in a very embarrassing situation because everything we studied about this man's congressional district showed that it had declined in population since the last census. We could not certify that his district had increased to over 500,000. This was before the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision. Going over 500,000 meant that you got to hire an extra clerk and got additional funds. He was very annoyed with us and couldn't understand how any bunch of bureaucrats could be so stupid as to not certify their own appropriations subcommittee chairman with the number he wanted. The Bureau just stood firm, however, and said he did not have the population and we were not going to certify it. I think it hurt us in a number of appropriations hearings with that gentleman; however, the Bureau had that image that it did not "bend" on its numbers. We do the best job we can with those numbers, and we stand by them. I think that was annoying to some of these people. It was refreshing and different because I think they did find that there

were bureaucrats who were perhaps only too happy to accede to wishes to get their programmatic goals.

Love: **How do you feel about the role that we are now playing in data dissemination? We have been doing a lot more of it certainly than we use to. If a person came to us and wanted data the Census Bureau would refer them to the Department of Commerce.**

Young: We've gotten away from that. I think data dissemination in the Bureau, and I'm sorry to say, is one of our weaker points. I think many of us like to talk and deal with people of our own profession, so that we produce tapes, and reports that are suitable for academics and researchers, marketing executives, and people of this kind. Basically, I would think without exaggeration that we produce our work aimed at somewhere between 10,000 and 20,000 people in the United States. A really very small audience of professionals. I have tried for at least 30 years to convince Census Bureau staff that this policy is killing the "goose that lays the golden eggs." The goose in this case is the American public who provides us answers to all the questions we ask; yet, we don't give the American public back very much for what they give us. We find that as time goes by that people ask why do you need to know that, what do you do with that? They'd never seen our publications. They don't understand the uses of data. I really think one of the tragedies is that we don't put enough money into it. I think I looked at something like the American Housing Survey and found that less than 3 percent of the money spent on that is on any kind of data dissemination, and that's relatively high. When you get into a decennial census, data dissemination is probably somewhere around 1 percent. I would very strongly urge that in any survey or census work we earmark right from the start something like 3 or 5 percent of our funds for data dissemination—that we build up a staff of people who can write with a more popular flair; that we investigate the production of video tapes for public broadcasting; that we develop techniques of maybe 800 telephone numbers where people could call up and find out the latest numbers, the latest reports, everyday. You may joke about it, but if we have "dial-a-joke," we might have "dial-a-number"—that sort of thing to push our product out. We ought to aim our advertisements at much more popular magazines. We emphasize that the staff should write papers for an American Statistical Association meeting, an American Economic Association meeting, but no one here is pushing the staff to get an article in *Cosmopolitan*, into *Life*, into *Scientific American*, or into the *Smithsonian*. We need to broaden our audience. Most people cannot handle, cannot really

understand 500 pages of numbers. What our reports need are graphic summaries in the front, and we must begin to realize that we want and need the cooperation of the American public so that they can understand what we do. The public needs to believe that we are benign and helpful rather than snoopers who are assembling information to get "inside their head," engineer society, or plan their lifeflow. This is one of the real problems.

Love: **You hear an issue raised repeatedly, Art, about how much of this the Federal Government should undertake as opposed to the private sector in the dissemination of our data.**

Young: Well, one of the things that I think you could strive for is that you have to look at yourself as an information agency rather than as merely a statistical agency. The Census Bureau has to work at this in terms of being sure that what it produces, in terms of information, products that tell both sides of the story. When I put out data, I guess I tried to avoid ever having headlines or leads which would make one side of the aisle in Congress happy or unhappy. I tried to be sure that the reports provide all the facts. If we talked about percent change, we talked about absolute change because some of these can tell different stories. To put it another way—if you provide information so that you alienate everybody, then maybe you've provided all the information you should. I think if you leave everything up to the private sector, then the data have been collected at the people's expense, may be interpreted or published in such a way that it would favor one group over another or tend to give the perception of "thought control." I really hope that if you develop a Census Bureau with a tradition of almost academic freedom, your reports would cover both the left, right, and the center of any issue and let people look at all the facts and decide for themselves. I think our problem is that our reports are so difficult to understand that people can't use them.

Love: **I think maybe technology here has outstripped us a bit. There was a time, of course, when we first produced data on tape; they were available only to a limited number of people—only big organizations and extremely wealthy individuals who could afford a computer. Today, computers are almost as commonplace as a typewriter. Our data dissemination on tapes for the little guy and the man on the street is not a very active program.**

Young: There are computers, of course, in many of our high schools now. But I'm not sure that we really see to it that those high schools receive data tapes that would allow their students to manipulate the decennial census data for their own states,

their own community. I don't think we've done that. I don't think we've set the models for demographic or housing analysis that allows people to have a set of techniques to compare how they are doing with other parts of the country, how groups within their community compare in their housing, their wealth, their jobs, and their education. I just don't think the data are reaching enough people, even with the computers.

Love: **That's an interesting point, Art, because I recall we did a student intern experiment during the 1980 decennial census. You're familiar with that. But, one of the strong advantages I felt that could have come out of that program was that we could maintain a working relationship, rapport, with the students of universities, primarily with community colleges. We could have established a body shop, if you will, of faculty and students who could learn how to use our most powerful data. In return, we could go to these places of higher education for assistance for census taking.**

Young: Let me give you just one other suggestion in this area. We have many knowledgeable technicians of our procedures, techniques, and subject matter. A great many universities have "mini-mesters." I would think that it would be a wonderful thing if the Bureau could put a team of three or four people together to go out and conduct a "mini-mester" at some university that could deal with sampling, collection procedures, and questionnaire content of the Bureau's agriculture censuses and population and housing censuses. I really think we ought to have a much greater outreach of our professional staff. I think it would help us in recruiting. I think that the Bureau should show college students that it is concerned with the use and application of what the agency collects it would attract good people to the Bureau because they would think that the work that the Bureau had done is meaningful. This is one of the questions so many young people have today. Is my career going to be meaningful? If they can see it as disseminating nationwide information about our country, they would feel that they were meaningfully employed.

Love: **I agree. I certainly think that's an opportunity for the agency to cement good community ties. In terms of not only disseminating data, but making people aware of what this organization does. Art, can you comment about the advisory committees and professional organizations? We've been involved with quite a few of those over the years. In general, what's your view about them in terms of their giving us advice and helping to develop the particular cause or direction of Bureau programs?**

Young: I guess over the years I would say that I am a strong advocate of advisory committees. Some have been better than others. I'd always hoped that we could have some advisory committees that were almost a committee of our critics to keep us on our toes, but I think the important thing in an advisory committee is to try to ensure that it rises above any partnership in government. We should really have the best technicians, the most knowledgeable users of our information, and a wide spectrum of these people. It disturbs me when we have a technical agency, as the Census Bureau, there is a concern that these people need to be cleared. I think our advisory committees really would probably be on a stronger basis if we really worked, perhaps not just through the Bureau, but with the National Science Foundation and other groups, to establish some technical advisory committees that are genuinely the best people that we can get. The Bureau should have an advisory committee on data dissemination made up of individuals from newspapers, television, and the publishing firms.

Love: **It is interesting in that you'll occasionally encounter people in the media who become suddenly aware of what the Census Bureau does and what its products are, and they are amazed at this gold mine that's untapped. What are your views about the Bureau's image of itself? How has this image changed over the years?**

Young: I think some of it has changed with the very nature of the people who work here and who are the executives. When I came here, the man who was Chief, Field Division, was Jack Robertson [Jack B. Robertson, Special Assistant to Director, Chief, Field Division 1952-; Assistant Chief prior to 1952]. The Assistant Chief was Ivan G. Monroe. Neither of these men were, I think, true statisticians. They were generalists. They were social scientists, managers. Yet, some of the talks that Jack Robertson gave the staff on planning for surveys and what had to be done were probably the most comprehensive, and what Jack said stayed with me longer than any of the very technical things that perhaps I might have heard later on. Ross Eckler [A. Ross Eckler, Director, from 1965 to 1969; Deputy Director,

from 1949 to 1969] joined the Bureau, I believe, through some of the Works Progress Administration's work. Even our great mathematical statisticians, Morris Hansen [Associate Director for Research and Development], Bill Hurwitz [William N. Hurwitz, Chief, Statistical Research Division, to January 1969], Joe Daly [Joseph F. Daly, Associate Director for Statistical Standards and Methodology from 1968 to 1971], were broad people in the sense that they had interests and knowledge of the social sciences and their applications. Howard Grieves [Howard C. Grieves, Deputy Director, from 1965 to 1967; Assistant Director for Economic Fields, from 1947 to 1965], Julius Shiskin [Assistant Director for Program Planning and Evaluation from August 1968 to June 1969], all these people were much more than number crunchers. I am concerned that the Bureau is becoming solely a statistical agency. I have annoyed some people, I guess, when I say that the work of the Bureau is too important to entrust to statisticians. Basically, I think we should consider ourselves an information agency, an educational agency, with a mission to find out about the United States, its people, its businesses, its farms, its governments, and to relay this information back to the public. We need to provide a form of adult, primary, and secondary education. I don't think this can be solely a statistical task. I think it has to be a communications job. I truthfully have not seen over the past 20 years the recruitment or the entry into the Federal Government of people with the breadth of the Shiskins, the Grieves, the Ecklers, the Conrad Taeubers that we had before. We are getting more and more into specialists; people with tunnel vision in their own fields who do not always see the relationships of their speciality to other areas. I am concerned with the degree of overspecialization. I remember one example from one of the local public meetings for the 1980 Decennial Census. I was representing the Housing Division and was sitting with someone from the Population Division. This person was a branch chief in one of the specialities in the Population Division. He said, "I hope they don't ask me anything about migration, unemployment, or education; I don't know anything about that. I just know my field." This to me is a little scary, that we don't have some people that can rise above and see the total picture—get the bird's eye perspective of what's going on. I think this is sorely needed. I am not sure that Howard Grieves, Julius Shiskin, or Morris Hansen ever considered themselves just statisticians. I think they considered themselves a little more than that. I think the Bureau also should view itself as something more than just an agency that collects statistics, but also as an overall information agency.

Love: **To some extent, Art, that's true of society in general today. In the medical field, a physician who is a general practitioner is a rare animal. Everybody specializes today; I think we lose something in that process. One important theme in the Bureau's history has been how to maintain the integrity of its statistics and how to keep the work we do free from political influences. Have there been times when you think the Bureau was subject to too much political influence?**

Young: In terms of confidentiality, I think we have been absolutely stalwart. I don't think the confidentiality of our data has ever been breached. I think it is really a shame that the American public believes that what you tell the census taker can end up in the Federal Bureau of Investigation files or the Internal Revenue Service. I think that if there was ever an attempt to misuse census files there would be a "cry" sent out by the employees. On the other hand, I also feel that the Census Bureau should be an independent agency. I would hate to think that we would ever talk about a group of statistics as Johnson's statistics, Nixon's statistics, Carter's statistics, Reagan's statistics. In other words, I don't want people to think that the Bureau produced or collected data in certain programs to reflect a particular President's political views. I think we ought to rise above that and separate ourselves from even the perception that we could be influenced in what we collect or publish. I don't think we would tamper with the numbers, but the Bureau could selectively collect information on certain topics that would reflect a partisan view of the Nation. I think it's really important that the Bureau be as nonpartisan as possible. I think that it is important to remember that tampering is more than manipulating the numbers you collect; it's also the subjective decision about what you collect and publish. That's why I think if you collect all the data, if you make all sides of the aisle happy and unhappy, then probably you've told the whole story.

Love: **That's about as neutral as you can be. Have you seen any bills proposed that would move Census?**

Young: There is one thought that if the Department of Commerce became the Department of Trade, for example, the Census Bureau may become independent. There was some thought that the agency might go to the Department of the Treasury. I think, though, that being a "brother bureau" with the Internal Revenue Service would be extremely bad for our image.

Love: **Art, your thoughts about the possibility seeing the Census Bureau becoming an independent agency bring to mind the situation in Canada with Statistics Canada. Have you had much of an opportunity to travel to observe the statistical operations of other countries?**

Young: I spent about a week in Venezuela trying to help its government establish some housing surveys to measure their housing need, and to identify the bad housing in their urban centers. Certainly, by American standards, it was much easier to identify bad housing. There was a lot of what we would consider truly unacceptable housing. This was an interesting experience, and it shows that some of the definitions or concepts that we cling to here in this country really have to be thrown away quickly when you are trying to do survey work in other nations. I also went to some of the United Nations planning meetings for the 1980 census. They were trying to develop a uniform approach for all the European nations. I found that many of the things that bothered some of the European statisticians also bothered us, like the measurement of housing quality. I remember back pre-1980 when we were getting away from using the head of the house. This also was a problem for some European planners. I remember a gentleman from Belgium who said that quite frankly everybody in his country knows who the head of the house is, so they were not going to change. It also was interesting to work with or to see the reactions of some of the eastern block countries to housing issues. I must say I found it a little embarrassing to talk to people from some of these countries, and find out that their entire population and housing census was being designed by 17 people, or in some cases 100. I realized that back here we were working with a cast of thousands. It always forced me to question whether we were inefficient or just did much more. I don't think we have ever done a careful study to compare the size of the professional staff in other nations to ours in terms of, and I hate to use the word, productivity. But it is a broadening experience. One of the other experiences that maybe I haven't mentioned was in 1967 when the Federal government established the Keener Commission on civil disorder. I was asked to help the commission recruit researchers. So I worked with the Keener Commission interviewing candidates for its research staff and setting up field trips for the commissioners to some of the riot sites in the United States so that they could see these problems firsthand and deal with some of the members of Congress, as well as the leaders and the writers of this report. It was one of the more interesting experiences that I had in my Federal career. It became very apparent to me how

important data are in analyzing problems and situations. I also saw that the 1960 census was really too old to use, and there was no local data on changes that occurred since 1960. People were really quite helpless without good local data.

Love: **I think that kind of problem surfaces with every crisis the country goes through. The oil embargo in the early 1980s showed the urgent need to collect data on just how much fuel is refined in this country and how much is imported. Art, I want to thank you very much for the interview today and the opportunity to talk to you about some of the highlights of your career.**

Young: It was a pleasure.